

Message Text

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ORIGIN EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SIG-01 ACDA-07 AID-05 EB-08
TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 DHA-02 IO-13 DPW-01
/120 R

DRAFTED BY EA/P:WMAGRUDER:EB
APPROVED BY EA/P:UMAGRUDER
EA - MR. OAKLEY
USIA/IEA - MR. PAYEFF
-----262037Z 128310 /45

R 252218Z MAR 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 066980

FOR CHIEFS OF MISSIONS AND PAO'S

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: GENERAL EA POLICY GUIDANCE FROM ASSISTANT
SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

1. INTRODUCTION

I AM CONCERNED THAT CONFUSION MAY HAVE ARISEN AMONG
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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CERTAIN ASIAN ELITES OVER AMERICAN INTENTIONS IN ASIA
IN THE POST-VIETNAM ERA, ESPECIALLY SINCE JANUARY 20.
THIS IS UNNECESSARY, SINCE THE PRESIDENT AND THE
SECRETARY FEEL STRONGLY THAT THE UNITED STATES IS AND
MUST REMAIN AN ASIAN-PACIFIC POWER. WE HAVE BEEN USING
APPEARANCES BEFORE CONGRESS ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE REQUESTS
TO CLARIFY US POLICY BOTH FOR CONGRESS AND ASIAN
AUDIENCES. WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO USE THE RESOURCES OF THE
ENTIRE MISSION TO CONVEY THIS MESSAGE TO THOSE SEGMENTS
OF SOCIETY WITH WHICH YOU ARE IN CONTACT AND WITH WHOM
IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE AND USEFUL.

2. WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE AT THE OUTSET THAT PARTS OF OUR OVERALL ASIAN POLICY REMAIN TO BE FILLED IN, AND SOME OF THE SPECIFICS REMAIN TO BE WORKED OUT. HOWEVER, CERTAIN BROAD OUTLINES ARE ALREADY QUITE CLEAR. THESE ALREADY

ESTABLISHED ASPECTS OF POLICY APPARENTLY NEED FURTHER EXPOSITION.

3. WE REQUEST YOU UNDERTAKE INTEGRATED MISSION APPROACHES TO ADVANCE AND EXPLAIN THESE POLICIES. AT SAME TIME, WE REQUEST MISSION COMMENT ON IMPACT IN YOUR COUNTRIES OF THESE ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EFFECTIVE ACTION TO DEAL WITH ANY PROBLEMS BOTH IN GOVERNMENTAL AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS AREAS.

4. MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS

AS VIEWED FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, UNITED STATES CREDIBILITY IN THE POST-VIETNAM ERA REMAINS A MAJOR ISSUE IN RELATIONS WITH EAST ASIA. ASIAN LEADERS QUESTION AMERICA'S WILL AND ABILITY TO PLAY MAJOR ROLE IN REGION. DOUBTS PERSIST OVER OUR DEFENSE COMMITMENTS AND OUR STAYING POWER. THERE IS ALSO SKEPTICISM ABOUT OUR LEADERSHIP IN OTHER FIELDS, PARTICULARLY IN THOSE AREAS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WHICH SPEAK DIRECTLY TO ASPIRATIONS OF MANY COUNTRIES IN REGION. THREE IMPORTANT ALLIES AND FRIENDS -- KOREA, THE PHILIPPINES, AND INDONESIA -- ARE INCREASINGLY APPREHENSIVE ABOUT OUR CONCERN WITH ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND EFFECT OF THAT CONCERN ON TRADE, AID, AND THEIR OWN SECURITY.

5. THESE ARE SERIOUS BUT NOT INSURMOUNTABLE PROBLEMS. IF THEY POINT UP ISSUES WHICH MUST BE FACED, THEY ALSO INDICATE OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO CONSTRUCTIVE AMERICAN ACTION. WITH LONG VIET NAM INVOLVEMENT FINALLY AT END, THE UNITED STATES IS FREE TO DEVOTE ATTENTION AND ENERGIES TO PRESSING REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES WHICH DIRECTLY AFFECT FUTURE STABILITY AND PROSPERITY OF ASIA AND QUALITY OF AMERICAN RELATIONS IN REGION. IN THIS SENSE, WE HAVE ALREADY BEGUN A NEW ERA, ONE WHICH OFFERS PROSPECT OF HEALING OF OLD WOUNDS, DEEPENING OF OLD FRIENDSHIPS, AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW AND MORE MUTUALLY PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIPS THROUGHOUT AREA.

6. US POLICY - AN OVERVIEW

SPECIFIC AMERICAN RESPONSES TO SPECIFIC PROBLEMS WILL

EMERGE IN COURSE OF EVENTS. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, CONSTANT AND CLEAR OBJECTIVES RUNNING THROUGH U.S. ASIAN POLICY WHICH THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS EXPRESSED, AND MOST OF THESE WERE ENUNCIATED IN MY TESTIMONY ON MARCH 10 BEFORE ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE OF HOUSE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:

-- THE UNITED STATES SHALL REMAIN AN ASIAN/PACIFIC POWER.

-- WE SHALL PRESERVE BALANCED AND FLEXIBLE MILITARY POSTURE IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC.

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-- WE SHALL MAINTAIN THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE TIES TO JAPAN, AND WORK WITH IT ON GLOBAL AND REGIONAL AS WELL AS BILATERAL ISSUES.

-- WE SHALL MAKE EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PRC, WITH DUE REGARD FOR SECURITY OF PEOPLE OF TAIWAN.

-- WE SHALL MAKE EFFORTS FOR THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH VIET NAM. NORMALIZATION, HOWEVER, DEPENDS ON A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE MIA QUESTION, AND WILL NOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF OUR FRIENDS OF LONG-STANDING IN SEASIA.

-- OUR SECURITY AND ECONOMIC TIES WITH ALLIES IN NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA REMAIN STRONG, AND WE SUPPORT THEIR TAKING A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN ASIAN AFFAIRS.

-- WE INTEND TO PHASE OUT OUR GROUND FORCES IN KOREA, ENSURING THAT SECURITY OF KOREA IS IN NO WAY THREATENED. OUR TROOP WITHDRAWAL WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE ROK AND JAPAN.

-- THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO HAVE A STRONG INTEREST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND WILL PLAY APPROPRIATE ROLE THERE. WE LOOK FORWARD, FOR EXAMPLE, TO SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITH PHILIPPINES ON USE OF BASES, AS WELL AS TO ECONOMIC CONSULTATIONS WITH ASEAN.

-- THE UNITED STATES IS DEDICATED TO IMPROVING WORLD ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. TO THIS END, WE WILL WORK WITH BOTH DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN EAST ASIA. WE WILL ALSO PROMOTE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL BILATERAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT

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(DETAILED GUIDANCE DEALING WITH SPECIFIC REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES WILL BE PROVIDED AS APPROPRIATE ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS.)

7. NEW APPROACHES

THE UNITED STATES IS INVOLVED IN DEVELOPING NEW APPROACHES

TO THE FOLLOWING FIVE SPECIFIC ISSUES:

8. HUMAN RIGHTS -- THE INITIATIVES OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE PERHAPS GENERATED MORE INTEREST AND COMMENT THROUGHOUT WORLD THAN ANY POLICY THUS FAR ENUNCIATED. THE PRESIDENT HAS REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR, IN HIS PSS CONFERENCE OF MARCH 9 AND HIS SPEECH TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF MARCH 17, THAT HE HAS DEEPEST POSSIBLE COMMITMENT TO ADVANCEMENT HUMAN RIGHTS AND THAT THIS COMMITMENT WILL BE A ONSITENT IGREDIENT IN FOREGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES. EMPHASIZING THAT "THIS IS NO POLICY OF CONVENIENCE,, DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS UNDERLINED THE FACT THAT "THE UNJERTAKING TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOW AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY."

9. SPECIFIC APPLICATIONS OF THIS POLICY IN OUR RELATIONS WITH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES WILL EMERGE AFTER CAREFUL STUDY AND AS APPROPRIATE OCCASIONS ARISE. FOR THE PRESENT, MISSIONS SHOULD REFER TO STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY'S MARCH 2 TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN OPERATIONS OF THE HOUSE APPROPRIATION COMMITTEE, AND TO DEPUTY SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY AS CARRIED IN THE EAST ASIA ANJ PACIFIC WIRELESS FILE OF MARCH 7, AS WELL AS TESTIMONY BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE ANJ DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY.

10. REDUCTION OF GROUND FORCES IN KOREA -- PRESIDENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PAGE 06 STATE 066980

CLEARLY OUTLINED U.S. POLICY IN HIS MARCH 9 PRESS CONFERENCE. THE U.S. WILL GRADUALLY WITHDRAW ITS GROUND TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA OVER A TIMETABLE OF FOUR TO FIVE YEARS TO BE DETERMINED IN FULL CONSULTATION WITH ROKG AND GOJ. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR AIR CAPABILITY TO ASSIST ARMED FORCES OF KOREA TO DETER NORTH KOREAN AGGRESSION. WE ARE CONVINCED THIS ACTION IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA: I.E., MAINTAIN A DETERRENCE WHICH WILL ENSURE PEACE. MISSIONS SHOULD DRAW ON PRESIDENT'S PRESS

CONFERENCE AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY UNTIL MORE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE IS AVAILABLE.

11. RENEGOTIATION OF BASE RIGHTS IN THE PHILIPPINES --
THE UNITED STATES IS CURRENTLY REASSESSING ITS POSITION
ON RENEGOTIATION OF OUR USE OF MILITARY FACILITIES IN
PHILIPPINES. UNTIL REVIEW IS COMPLETED THERE IS LITTLE
TO ADD, EXCEPT THAT WE LOOK FORWARD TO AMICABLE CON-
CLUSION OF A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT. WE HAVE
ASKED FOR \$19.6 MILLION GRANT MAP FOR PHILIPPINES.

12. MAINTENANCE OF INTEREST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA --
PRESIDENT NOTED AT UN THAT IN SEA AND THE PACIFIC WE WILL
STRENGTHEN OUR ASSOCIATION WITH TRADITIONAL FRIENDS
AND SEEK TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH FORMER ADVERSARIES.
WE CONTINUE TO HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE STABILITY AND
PROSPERITY OF THE NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS OF SOUTHEAST
ASIA AS EMPHASIZED IN THE HOLBROOKE AND OAKLEY TESTI-
MONY SUPPORTING OUR REQUEST FOR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY
ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN FY '78. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE
OPENING OF ECONOMIC CONSULTATIONS WITH ASEAN. THE
RECENT PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION VISIT TO HANOI AND
VIENTIANE WAS SUCCESSFUL BOTH IN BRINGING THE MIA PROBLEM
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13. NORMALIZATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE
PRC -- AS SECRETARY VANCE HAS NOTED, THE US ENDORSES
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YOU FEEL THERE IS A NEED.
CHRISTOPHER

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 USIA-02 /005 R

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DRAFTED BY:EA:P:WMAGRUDER

APPROVED BY:EA:P:WMAGRUDER

EA:MR. OAKLEY

USIA:MR. PAYEFF

-----300719Z 077245 /21

R 290434Z APR 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM SECSTATE WASHDC DATED APRIL 15, 1977
SENT CINCPAC IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

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FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM SECSTATE WASHDC DATED MARCH 25,
1977 SENT ALL EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS INFO
LONDON, MOSCOW, PARIS, NEW DELHI IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

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COMMITTEE, AND TO DEPUTY SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY AS CARRIED IN THE EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC WIRELESS FILE OF MARCH 7, AS WELL AS TESTIMONY BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY.

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO CINCPAC

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FOR MR. GRALNECK FROM WARREN MAGRUDER

FOL RPT STATE 066980 ACTION ALL EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC
DIPLOMATIC POSTS INFO LONDON MOSCOW PARIS NEW DELHI
R 252218Z MAR 77 QUOTE

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TO ASPIRATIONS OF MANY COUNTRIES IN REGION. THREE IMPORTANT ALLIES AND FRIENDS -- KOREA, THE PHILIPPINES, AND INDONESIA -- ARE INCREASINGLY APPREHENSIVE ABOUT OUR CONCERN WITH ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND EFFECT OF THAT CONCERN ON TRADE, AID, AND THEIR OWN SECURITY.

5. THESE ARE SERIOUS BUT NOT INSURMOUNTABLE PROBLEMS. IF THEY POINT UP ISSUES WHICH MUST BE FACED, THEY ALSO INDICATE OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO CONSTRUCTIVE AMERICAN ACTION. WITH LONG VIET NAM INVOLVEMENT FINALLY AT END, THE UNITED STATES IS FREE TO DEVOTE ATTENTION AND ENERGIES TO PRESSING REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES WHICH DIRECTLY AFFECT FUTURE STABILITY AND PROSPERITY OF ASIA AND QUALITY OF AMERICAN RELATIONS IN REGION. IN THIS SENSE, WE HAVE ALREADY BEGUN A NEW ERA, ONE WHICH OFFERS PROSPECT

OF HEALING OF OLD WOUNDS, DEEPENING OF OLD FRIENDSHIPS,
AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW AND MORE MUTUALLY PRODUCTIVE
RELATIONSHIPS THROUGHOUT AREA.

6. US POLICY - AN OVERVIEW

SPECIFIC AMERICAN RESPONSES TO SPECIFIC PROBLEMS WILL
EMERGE IN COURSE OF EVENTS. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, CONSTANT
AND CLEAR OBJECTIVES RUNNING THROUGH U.S. ASIAN POLICY
WHICH THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS EXPRESSED, AND MOST OF THESE
WERE ENUNCIATED IN MY TESTIMONY ON MARCH 10 BEFORE ASIAN
AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE OF HOUSE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:

-- THE UNITED STATES SHALL REMAIN AN ASIAN/PACIFIC POWER.

-- WE SHALL PRESERVE BALANCED AND FLEXIBLE MILITARY
POSTURE IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC.

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-- WE SHALL MAINTAIN THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE TIES TO JAPAN,
AND WORK WITH IT ON GLOBAL AND REGIONAL AS WELL AS
BILATERAL ISSUES.

-- WE SHALL MAKE EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
WITH PRC, WITH DUE REGARD FOR SECURITY OF PEOPLE OF
TAIWAN.

-- WE SHALL MAKE EFFORTS FOR THE NORMALIZATION OF RE-
LATIONS WITH VIET NAM. NORMALIZATION, HOWEVER, DEPENDS
ON A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE MIA QUESTION, AND
WILL NOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF OUR FRIENDS OF LONG-STANDING
IN SEASIA.

-- OUR SECURITY AND ECONOMIC TIES WITH ALLIES IN NEW
ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA REMAIN STRONG, AND WE SUPPORT THEIR
TAKING A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN ASIAN AFFAIRS.

-- WE INTEND TO PHASE OUT OUR GROUND FORCES IN KOREA,
ENSURING THAT SECURITY OF KOREA IS IN NO WAY THREATENED.
OUR TROOP WITHDRAWAL WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN CLOSE CON-
SULTATION WITH THE ROK AND JAPAN.

-- THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO HAVE A STRONG INTEREST
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND WILL PLAY APPROPRIATE ROLE THERE.
WE LOOK FORWARD, FOR EXAMPLE, TO SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS
WITH PHILIPPINES ON USE OF BASES, AS WELL AS TO ECONOMIC
CONSULTATIONS WITH ASEAN.

-- THE UNITED STATES IS DEDICATED TO IMPROVING WORLD ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. TO THIS END, WE WILL WORK WITH BOTH DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN EAST ASIA. WE WILL ALSO PROMOTE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL BILATERAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT.

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(DETAILED GUIDANCE DEALING WITH SPECIFIC REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES WILL BE PROVIDED AS APPROPRIATE ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS.)

7. NEW APPROACHES

THE UNITED STATES IS INVOLVED IN DEVELOPING NEW APPROACHES

TO THE FOLLOWING FIVE SPECIFIC ISSUES:

8. HUMAN RIGHTS -- THE INITIATIVES OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE PERHAPS GENERATED MORE INTEREST AND COMMENT THROUGHOUT WORLD THAN ANY POLICY THUS FAR ENUNCIATED. THE PRESIDENT HAS REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR, IN HIS PSS CONFERENCE OF MARCH 9 AND HIS SPEECH TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF MARCH 17, THAT HE HAS DEEPEST POSSIBLE COMMITMENT TO ADVANCEMENT HUMAN RIGHTS AND THAT THIS COMMITMENT WILL BE A CONSTITENT INGREDIENT IN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES. EMPHASIZING THAT "THIS IS NO POLICY OF CONVENIENCE,, DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS UNDERLINED THE FACT THAT "THE UNDERTAKING TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOW AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY."

9. SPECIFIC APPLICATIONS OF THIS POLICY IN OUR RELATIONS WITH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES WILL EMERGE AFTER CAREFUL STUDY AND AS APPROPRIATE OCCASIONS ARISE. FOR THE PRESENT, MISSIONS SHOULD REFER TO STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY'S MARCH 2 TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN OPERATIONS OF THE HOUSE APPROPRIATION COMMITTEE, AND TO DEPUTY SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY AS CARRIED IN THE EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC WIRELESS FILE OF MARCH 7, AS WELL AS TESTIMONY BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY.

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10. REDUCTION OF GROUND FORCES IN KOREA -- PRESIDENT CLEARLY OUTLINED U.S. POLICY IN HIS MARCH 9 PRESS CONFERENCE. THE U.S. WILL GRADUALLY WITHDRAW ITS GROUND TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA OVER A TIMETABLE OF FOUR

TO FIVE YEARS TO BE DETERMINED IN FULL CONSULTATION WITH ROKG AND GOJ. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR AIR CAPABILITY TO ASSIST ARMED FORCES OF KOREA TO DETER NORTH KOREAN AGGRESSION. WE ARE CONVINCED THIS ACTION IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA: I.E., MAINTAIN A DETERRENCE WHICH WILL ENSURE PEACE. MISSIONS SHOULD DRAW ON PRESIDENT'S PRESS CONFERENCE AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY UNTIL MORE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE IS AVAILABLE.

11. RENEGOTIATION OF BASE RIGHTS IN THE PHILIPPINES -- THE UNITED STATES IS CURRENTLY REASSESSING ITS POSCTION ON RENEGOTIATION OF OUR USE OF MILITARY FACILITIES IN PHILIPPINES. UNTIL REVIEW IS COMPLETED THERE IS LITTLE TO ADD, EXCEPT THAT WE LOOK FORWARD TO AMICABLE CONCLUSION OF A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT. WE HAVA ASKED FOR \$19.6 MILLION GRANT MAP FOR PHILIPPINES.

12. MAINTENANCE OF INTEREST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA -- PRESIDENT NOTED AT UN THAT IN SEA AND THE PACIFIC WE WILL STRENGTHEN OUR ASSOCIATION UITH TRADITIONAL FRIENDS AND SEEK TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH FORMER ADVERSARIES. WE CONTINUE TO HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE STABILITY AND PROSPERITY OF THE NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AS EMPHASIZED IN THE HOLBROOKE AND OAKLEY TESTIMONY SUPPORTING OUR REQUEST FOR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN FY '78. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE OPENING OF ECONOMIC CONSULTATIONS WITH ASEAN. THE RECENT PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION VISIT TO HANOI AND VIENTIANE WAS SUCCESSFUL BOTH IN BRINGING THE MIA PROBLEM CLOSER TO SOLUTION AND IN IMPROVING THE ATMOSPHERE GENERALLY FOR PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS
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WITH VIETNAM, IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR DESIRE FOR PEACE AND STABILITY FOR ALL OF SEA.

13. NORMALIZATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PRC -- AS SECRETARY VANCE HAS NOTED, THE US ENDORSES HE PRINCIPLES AND FRAMEWORK OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE IN ITS APPROACH TO THE NORMALIZATION OF US/PRC RELATIONS. PRESIDENT HAS INDICATED THAT IT WILL INVOLVE CAREFUL PROCESS WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT SECURITY OF PEOPLE OF TAIWAN.

14. ACTION REQUESTED

WE INVITE MISSIONS TO USE THIS SUMMARY OF POLICY POSITIONS TO CONSIDER THESE AND OTHER ISSUES WHICH THEY SEE AS IMPORTANT IN RELATIONS WITH HOST COUNTRIES. THIS ANALYSIS SHOULD CONSIDER LOCAL ATTITUDES, GOVERNMENTAL AND PUBLIC, AND MEANS OF BEST ADVANCING U.S.

GOALS, USING ALL OF THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE FROM ALL
MISSION ELEMENTS.

15. PLEASE ASK US FOR MORE GUIDANCE IN AREAS IN WHICH
YOU FEEL THERE IS A NEED.

CHRISTOPHER

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